/216 cont./

and goes to the river. Yamîra throws himself in the water;--he likes guaraná /Celaptylium brasiliense/ resin;--burned cotton seed makes Yamîra run far /216/ away; Yamîra is very fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like capaíba resin;--when jutahí is burned Yamîra does not like it, says the pajés.

Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are a means of subsistence, his forerunners /from tool:/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamîra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Tacuara would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately: for example, the hocco, in one of the passages cited above, or the Tapuíta, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. There are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamîra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good use; otherwise antas, pecas, and pigs will attack clearings, destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamîra it is necessary to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not redundant.

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, say the pajés; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

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(tradypus) is killed, pay for them with mangáu;--if no payment
is made, Yamîka will seize our shadow; Imiga (Cotton?) /261/
is the domestic animal that is the creation (ári) of Yamîka;
if you cut down forest in which Yamîka dwells, pay for it;--
mark out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for
the forest (13);--then, when Yamîka had drunk mangáu, he

13. After he had dictated this passage, I. expressed doubt as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

gave (us) away (14).

R. Maria Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Perijá (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tutuma of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Perijá, 64. Madrid reprint.).

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/260 cont./

796 for now merely stressing the following on this point: the masked dances and festivals are true religious ceremonies.

796 Let us now consider the piahi, whose important role has
756 already been indicated.

One word suffices to describe him: the piahi is a Yamĩra.

Piahi is a word that, with slight variations, appears in several South American languages and, like Carahiba can be interpreted in various ways. In Bacaeri it is related perhaps to epiwado, "payment," an idea whose scope we have already had occasion to mention. Basically /261/ it means the curer, the doctor. Thus it must not be confused with "sorcerer": ome-odo, "the lord of poison," may take a person's health and life; amapõçodo, "the lord of the hand of the dead," can vanquish the "lord of poison"; but both are mortal, while the curer is immortal and controls the forces of nature.

756 A few examples taken at random will show how the piahi appears to the mind of the Bacaeri.

796 The son of a curer was walking with his father, when
756 suddenly he was attacked by a jaguar. He defended himself
793 as best he could, and, arriving home, he said: „I have beaten a jaguar.--You are lying, said the curer, you have beaten me. This proves that the curer can get into the bodies of animals, or, to use the native expression, "make an animal his shirt."

Parutamido killed a tatou at the edge of a lake, cut it open, washed it, and refused to hand it over to the Yamĩra who demanded it in the water, as an animal of his creation (/1/). To punish him, the Yamĩra drowned him. When some time had passed without news of him, a curer who was his brother-in-law dreamed of what had happened to him. He went into the lake, where the Yamĩra explained why he had drowned Parutamido, treated him very well, presented him with manjau, with beijũs, and taught him the dance of the Xaritõwo. This shows what different relations the yamĩras

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000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[789] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[895] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunũto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunũto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
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In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunũto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadãua and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

77 /270 cont./
satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamũra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatopüri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagatopüri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamũra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than vestments, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

784 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamũra, kadopa, tõpiehe, karoui, iuanaguroro, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uanki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the tadaunũto celebration. The other method was shamanism. Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have constituted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamũra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

•[796] 756 784 182 956 987 276

795 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamũra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

526 then crushed, the pieces were taken out through the hole, air was blown into the ball, and the hole was covered over with rubber. The balls varied in size from 3 to 8 inches in diameter. The game was played on a field about 50 yards square with four goals placed midway on each of the four sides. Small white circles (*shipiri*) marked the goals, and another circle about a yard in diameter (*yotiri*) was placed in the center of the field.

The game was played by two teams with equal but varying numbers on each side. One team, called *pidto*, had the north and east goals, and the other team, called *tsadundo*, had the south and west goals. To score a point a team had to put the ball across the opponent's goal. The ball could not be carried in the hand but could be kicked over the goalkeeper. Each side had a leader who did not play but encouraged his players. The organizer of the game threw the ball from the center of the field to the *pidto* side at the beginning of the game or when the ball went out of bounds. The game lasted until the players were tired, the winners being the team with the greater number of points.

The Bacairi also organized wrestling matches called *taddinpudlli*. The object of the match was to knock down the opponent by pushing or hitting with the shoulders; grasping or hitting with the hands was not allowed. The loser was the one who had the greater number of falls.

CEREMONIALISM

527 796 Among the Bacairi ceremonialism was highly developed. Although songs and dances were performed whenever the people had an abundance of food and economic activities permitted the leisure time, there were special occasions (the ripening of corn, ear piercing of boys preparatory to going into seclusion, the coming out of seclusion of a woman after childbirth, house building, the distribution of cotton by women) during which particular songs and dances had to be performed. At these times it was customary to invite people from neighboring villages to participate in the festivities.

534 The musical instruments of the Bacairi consisted of rattles and flutes. The drum does not appear to have been used. Rattles were of two kinds: the common gourd rattle (*pdko*) and piqui